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THE PHILIPPINE STUDIES PROGRAM

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The following paper, prepared for the Eighth Pacific Science Congress in Manila, is presented as a report on the general objectives of the Philippine Studies Program and the projects currently underway or contemplated. We would welcome comments and suggestions from anybody interested in this region.

We would also like to have information as to other research projects on the Philippines in progress, and on materials or manuscript collections relating to this area. We will attempt to summarize such information and circulate it to all interested persons.

The Carnegie Corporation of New York has recently made a grant of \$75,000, over a five-year period, for a Philippine Studies Program to be administered through the University of Chicago. Social and cultural research on the Philippines has not developed commensurate with the historical and present-day importance of this region; with this assistance from the Carnegie Corporation, we hope to redress the balance, and to provide a more adequate foundation for historical, ethnological and social science studies.

In the Chicago area there are three major institutions with a long-term interest in the Philippines: The Newberry Library, the Chicago Natural History Museum (formerly Field Museum), and the University of Chicago. The Ayer Collection in The Newberry Library, under the Custodianship of Ruth Butler, is one of the finest collections of Filipiniana in the world but it is relatively unused by scholars because it is inadequately catalogued. Under our program, Professor Paul Lietz, Chairman of the History Department at Loyola University, is preparing an index and calendar of the Philippine manuscripts which will make them immeasurably more useful to scholars. Dr. John P. Phelan, who has recently completed a study of the role of the Catholic Church in early Mexico, has begun a parallel study for the Philippines as a Fellow of the Philippine Studies Program. In addition, certain manuscripts on Mindanao and Luzon are being transcribed and translated for editing and future publication.

The Chicago Natural History Museum's extensive ethnographic collections on the Philippines are in process of reorganization to make them more accessible for comparative study. Mr. Robert B. Fox recently assembled and organized the late William Jones' materials on the Ilongot which should at long last, put this interesting group on the scientific map. Professor Fay-Cooper Cole is completing his earlier study of the Bukidnons of Mindanao, originally done while on the staff of the Museum and will have a manuscript available in the near future.

The University of Chicago's interest in the Philippines goes back to the beginning of this century when its first Ph.Ds in anthropology, David P. Barrows and Merton L. Miller, put their specialized training to practical use in helping solve Filipino problems. Professor Frederick

Starr, and his successor, Professor Cole, Professor Emeritus of Anthropology, were both directly interested in the Philippines, and I have inherited Dr. Cole's interests in this region. More recently Mr. E. D. Hester has joined our staff following his long service in the Philippines, and is Associate Director of our program.

We conceive our major objectives as follows: (1) to promote research on certain major problems and regions; (2) to facilitate communication among scholars working on the Philippines and neighboring regions; (3) to present the results of research in forms useful to scholars, administrators, and laymen. In cooperation with Professor H. Otley Beyer, of the University of the Philippines, we hope to present an account of Filipino life and culture at the beginning of the Spanish regime, based on newly discovered documents, and on Professor Beyer's archeological researches. For the Spanish period we plan to develop a series of studies around, 1) land tenure, and 2) the role of the church. The impact of over 300 years of Spanish control on Filipino life and culture has never been adequately assessed; it is difficult to understand present-day problems without a working knowledge of Spanish policy and practice with regard to land use, economic activities and political control.

We also expect to develop a series of studies of Bisayan culture in cooperation with Silliman University and other institutions. Relatively little has been published on the Bisayan area but recent studies by Dr. Frederick Wernstedt and Donn Hart of Negros geography and culture, supplemented by projected studies of sugar communities, should give us a modern baseline. The recently discovered Povedano manuscripts show us Negros at the time of the Spanish conquest, and the Pavon manuscripts fill in part of the story in between. Professor Oracion's investigation of the interior peoples of Negros adds a further dimension to this framework and will aid greatly in its interpretation.

The Island of Mindanao is a pioneer region in many senses, including our knowledge of its peoples and cultures. We need to know more about the cultures of Moro and pagan groups and what is happening to them as a result of contacts with Bisayan and other settlers. We also need to study the pioneer Filipino settlements in the Koronadal and Ala valleys, and along the newly opened roads; and the resettled abaca plantations. Here we can build on the recent studies of Professor Karl Pelzer and on the older ones of Garvan, Christie, Cole and others. There is no institution of higher learning in Mindanao with an interest in these problems but a few Jesuit priests are engaged in studies of the adjustment of pagan groups to new conditions, and the Presbyterian Mission at Dansalan is carrying on the work begun by Dr. Frank Laubach among the Moros.

At the other end of the Philippines, in the Mountain Province, we have more adequate information as the result of studies by Beyer, Barton, Cole, Keesing, the Belgian Fathers, and others. Here the next task is the ordering of the ethnographic data on the various Mountain Province groups with reference to their distributions, and the testing of working hypotheses as to the history and nature of their social and cultural institutions. Students of social and cultural change will find a rich field here, one put in preliminary order by Professor and

Mrs. Keesing's study. Of particular interest is the Ilocano expansion into the Mountain Province, a cultural influence more pervasive and effective, in many respects, than either Spanish or American contacts. For time perspective in the Mountain Province, we are trying out some of the new techniques of glottochronology on the various dialects. In the absence of archeological studies these promise very useful results, comparable to those achieved by Carbon-14 in the field of archeology.

All of these various interests we hope will lead to a better understanding of Philippine society and culture. Our long and intimate association has come to a close, so far as direct responsibility for the Philippines is concerned, but despite a half century of control the United States knows relatively little about Filipino life and values. Nor have we assessed realistically our successes and failures in administration and development; such knowledge is essential to our future relationships, not only with the Philippines, but with other countries and peoples as well.

We would like to cooperate with as many individuals and institutions as our resources permit. To that end we are planning to hold conferences on problems of Philippine culture and to assist and sponsor field studies by professional scholars. Professor Beyer has almost single-handedly collected and safeguarded much of the basic data with regard to the peoples and cultures of the Philippines, and has contributed important conclusions about them. But the task is too large for any one person or institution to accomplish. If we can help develop a broader foundation for Philippine Studies, I for one shall feel well repaid. I feel that it is quite appropriate that the Carnegie Corporation which was created by Andrew Carnegie in 1911 "for the advancement and diffusion of knowledge and understanding", should be assisting in the present enterprise, since these are our own goals with regard to the Philippines.

SOME SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS IN THE
MOUNTAIN PROVINCE, NORTHERN LUZON,
AND THEIR SIGNIFICANCE FOR
HISTORICAL AND COMPARATIVE STUDIES

By Fred Eggan

Transcript No. 1

PHILIPPINE STUDIES PROGRAM
DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY
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F O R E W O R D

This paper was prepared for the Eighth Pacific Science Congress, Manila, November 16-28, 1953, and presented at the Anthropology sessions. I am indebted to the Carnegie Corporation of New York for their support of the Philippine Studies Program at the University, and to the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation for a Fellowship during the year 1953 which enabled me to go over the Mountain Province materials.

It is being circulated in advance of publication in the Proceedings of the Eighth Pacific Science Congress to scholars and others interested in the study of Philippine society and culture. It provides an alternative point of view from which to analyze the development of Mountain Province social institutions, and is presented for your consideration.

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University of Chicago
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Some Social Institutions in the Mountain Province and
their Significance for Historical and Comparative Studies.

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The pagan peoples of the Mountain Province, Northern Luzon, have long attracted the attention of ethnologists, and as a result of the work of Barton, Beyer, Cole, Jenks, Keesing, Fathers Claerhoudt, Lambrecht, and Vanoverbergh, and others, we now know more about the cultures and social institutions of the mountain peoples than we do about many other regions of the Pacific. On the basis of this growing body of data, supplemented by archaeological evidence from nearby regions, a number of theories have been advanced to account for the differences found in the Mountain Province, particularly with regard to social institutions. These theories, or hypotheses, involve generally the migration, over considerable periods of time, of peoples with different physical types and carrying different social institutions, into the Mountain Province. In this paper I wish to examine some of these theories in the light of the Mountain Province data and to propose some new working hypotheses as to the nature of Mountain Province institutions and their development.¹

In the excellent survey by Professor and Mrs. Keesing of "The Mountain Regions and its Peoples",² they divide the mountain peoples into some ten ethnic groups: Northern Isneg or Apayao, Southern Isneg, Kalinga — semisedentary and sedentary, Tinggian — semi-sedentary and sedentary, Bontoc, Lepanto, Kankanai, Ifugao, Ibaloi, and Gaddang. The northern and eastern groups (including the Isneg, the semi-sedentary Kalinga and Tinguian, and the pagan Gaddang) are dry-rice agriculturalists practicing shifting cultivation in forest and hillside clearings, and their social organization shows little specialization. Our attention will be particularly centered on the southern and western groups who grow irrigated rice in elaborate terrace systems and who have a variety of interesting and complex social institutions.

In this southern and western region, occupied by Tinggian, Kalinga, Bontoc, Lepanto or Northern Kankanai, Southern Kankanai, Ifugao, and Ibaloi peoples is the bulk of the Mountain Province population and the greatest density per square mile. These groups are not "tribes" in any political sense; rather the village is the basic unit and differences in dialect and custom are roughly proportional to distance and topography. Within this region also, we find great variation in social institutions. In some regions the population lives dispersed in small hamlets adjacent to their rice fields; in other areas there are compact and large towns with division into wards, each with a ceremonial stone platform and

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1. I am indebted for much of the preliminary organization of the data to Raymond Gosda; Robert B. Fox and Willis Sibley are responsible for the analysis of the linguistic data on the Mountain Province.
 2. Felix M. Keesing and Marie Keesing, Taming Philippine Headhunters, London: Allen and Unwin, 1934. Chapter II. I have leaned heavily on this volume in the following pages.

associated council and sleeping houses for men and boys, and girls' dormitories for "trial mating". These latter institutions are dominant in Bontoc and Lepanto and form a "wedge" in the larger triangle of the southwestern region of the Mountain Province, shading off to the north and south. These are the institutions that have parallels in southeast Asia, particularly in the Assam area, and that seem to show relationships to those in Polynesia. Beyer believes they were brought into northern Luzon by migrations directly from eastern Asia, part of which continued out into Oceania in late Neolithic times.³

"These forms of social organization in Bontoc and Lepanto show every sign of being old, rather than recent developments. So far as they are present in Ifugao, they seem to be an Indonesian understratum showing through the Malayan culture that came afterwards to that area."⁴

There is growing evidence, both archaeological and linguistic, for a direct migration into the northern Philippines from the region of the South China coast and Hainan Island. Paul Benedict's linguistic studies⁵, in particular, have suggested that this is a major jumping-off place for Malayo-Polynesian-speaking peoples for the Oceanic region as a whole. But it does not necessarily follow that the "wedge" of Lepanto-Bontoc peoples, who are believed to have entered the Philippines between 1500 and 500 B.C., brought along the above-mentioned institutions as part of their cultural baggage.

There is no good evidence that large, compact communities were in existence in Southeast Asia at this early period. Such communities were not possible before the development of intensive cultivation of irrigated rice and its spread to this region. Further north there were large communities in China based on the intensive cultivation of cereals, including rice, and with a rich technology; but not until the Han Dynasty, roughly 200 B.C. - 200 A.D., is there any considerable evidence of expansion and migration into Southeast Asia. Before this period the population pressures had begun to affect South China and periodic migrations must have taken place. Even so, small boatloads of migrants weren't likely to maintain large-scale community patterns in a new land under pioneer conditions. It is much more probable that the large compact community structures of the Mountain Province are a relatively late development related to populational increase in a region of limited resources in land and water.

3. H.O. Beyer, Philippine and East Asian Archaeology, and its Relation to the Origin of the Pacific Islands Population, Bulletin 29, National Research Council of the Philippines, Quezon City, Philippines, 1948, pp. 1-130.

4. Keesings, op. cit., p. 51.

5. Paul Benedict, "Thai, Kadai and Indonesian: A New Alignment in Southeast Asia", American Anthropologist, Vol. 44, 1942, pp. 576-601; and "Languages and Literatures of Indochina", Far Eastern Quarterly, Vol. 6, 1947, pp. 379-89.

Keesing has noted the close correlation in the Lepanto region between size of villages and the flow of water which they control. Once population pressures develop new communities are frequently founded, either close by or at a distance. Thus Bontoc village has given rise to nearby Samoki and distant Barlig. Even the great differences found between Bontoc-Lepanto, on the one hand and Ifugao, on the other, in the matter of village organization may be related to such factors. Barton⁶ believes that portions of Ifugao, with its small hamlets scattered over the mountain sides and valleys, were settled by migrants from the Lepanto region — "proto-Kankanays"; a suggestion in accord with the linguistic evidence which indicates that Ifugao is closest to Kankanay-Bontoc, with a separation of an order of about a thousand years. The relative absence of effective and centralized political controls throughout the region, under conditions of feuding and warfare when such would be effective, likewise argues against any long-term pattern of large-scale community structures in the Mountain Province.

If it is doubtful that the pattern of living in large cooperative communities was brought to the Mountain Province by "late Indonesian" migrants, it is also possible that the ward organization and affiliated institutions are likewise later developments which took place in the mountain region. When we examine these institutions more closely, we see that in each case they rest on a wider base, and enter into differing combinations in various mountain groups. It is clear that the ward or ato system, the ceremonial stone platforms, and the council and dormitory structures form a tightly-knit complex in the central Bontoc-Lepanto region.⁷ Both Barton and Keesing have tended to view marginal patterns in Ifugao and Kalinga as "degenerations" of the full complex. It is true that Spanish and American acculturation processes have strongly affected certain regions, particularly Benguet and Abra. But taking these into account I would rather reverse the current view and look at the Bontoc-Lepanto social complex as a specialized development on a more generalized and wider base.

The ward (ato) system, itself, involving the division of the village into geographical units with associated institutional structures, and social, ritual, and political functions, has a rather precise and limited distribution in the Lepanto-Bontoc region (including Amburayan), and adjacent areas colonized from these. But looking at neighboring areas we find that the larger Ifugao communities are frequently divided into named sections⁸ though without the institutional superstructure; and the barrio system of the Kalinga and Tinggian peoples to the north approximates a series of geographical subdivisions, in part, at least. Nowhere in the Mountain Province, with the partial exception of Kalinga, are large communities handled as a single political unit.

6. R.F. Barton, Ifugao Religion, Memoirs, American Anthropological Ass'n., No. 65, 1946, p. 23.

7. F.M. Keesing, "Notes on Bontok Social Organization Northern Philippines", American Anthropologist, Vol. 51, 1949, pp. 578ff.

8. Francis Lambrecht "Ifugao Villages and Houses", Publications, Catholic Anthropological Conference, Vol. I, No. 3, 1929 pp. 123-24.

In Bontoc-Lepanto the wards or atos average around twenty-five house-holds, though the range is considerably greater. They were established, in Bontoc thinking, by the culture hero, Lumauig, for the purpose of carrying on headhunting activities and for the proper performance of ceremonies; and similar beliefs are found in Lepanto. Bontoc town, itself, has certain unique features not found in the surrounding districts — here each ato has two platforms and two sets of public ato structures, a local development said to have been brought about by overcrowding in this village.⁹

The ceremonial stone platforms for lounging and ritual, with their reminiscence of megalithic cults and their parallels with Polynesia, are strongly tied into the ato system in the Bontoc-Lepanto area. Yet in central and Western Ifugao there are lookout and gossiping places, called atul or atol, without any ritual aspects. These Barton¹⁰ considers as a "vestige" of the Bontoc-Northern Kankanaag (Lepanto) ato; I would interpret them as part of the base on which the latter complex has developed. In Sagada, during field work in 1950, I found that in addition to the fully developed ward system, sometimes with multiple platforms for each ward, there were also such secular lounging and gossiping platforms, as well as stone platforms set in the fields and used for ritual purposes. Here we have specialized development and "degeneration" in the same place!

To the north of Bontoc-Lepanto the ato system fades out in the Tinglayan region of southern Kalinga. But in western Kalinga, Barton reports "guardian stones" (baiyong), three or more in number, standing upright before the houses of local "chiefs" (pangats) and used in headhunting rituals.¹¹ To the south, Father Claerhoudt refers to the use of the term atol for a stone wall near the house on which the old men sit for certain ceremonies;¹² and Moss notes the use of atol for terraced rice fields and stone fences.¹³ Elements of the stone platform complex are thus widespread and in this sense the Bontoc-Lepanto region loses its uniqueness. I would suggest that the central area has incorporated these elements into a more highly organized complex and that in the case of Bontoc, itself, the specialization has proceeded even farther. These are probably two stages in the same process.

The association of a council of older men with the ato or ward system is likewise not unique to the Bontoc-Lepanto area. Political institutions, except in nascent form, are largely absent in the Ifugao region, but among the Nabaloi of eastern Benguet an informal group of old men, under the leadership of a head man (dakay), decided community problems. Throughout the Nabaloi region there is usually one such council (tongtong) for each small community, which meets in a public meeting place. In Amburayan, under Spanish influence, the council became associated with one ato or ward, called the tribunal, and was given additional functions to perform. In Kalinga, political processes reached

9. Keesing, "Notes on Bontok Social Organization", p. 582.

10. R.F. Barton, Ifugao Religion, p. 23.

11. R. F. Barton, The Kalingas, Chicago, 1949. pp. 21-22.

12. F. Claerhoudt, "Songs of a People", Little Apostle of the Mountain Province, Vol. III, 1926-27, p. 48.

13. C.R. Moss, Nabaloi Law and Ritual, University of California Publications in American Archaeology & Ethnology, Vol. XV, No.3, 1920, p.222. atoi is also the term for "wall" in the Babuyan dialect, which suggests that this is an old meaning rather than a recent one.

a considerable development and a group of leaders (pangats), who operated essentially in inter-village affairs, was developed on a kinship base.¹⁴ In Abra the headman (lakay) reappears, assisted by an informal council of old and wealthy individuals. Still further north prowess in headhunting was, until recently, the main road to political power.

If we turn to the public structures associated with the ato divisions we likewise find that certain essential features have a wider distribution. The men's house, in Bontoc-Lepanto attached to the ceremonial platform in each ato, and used as a council house, a ceremonial place, and as a dormitory for old men, widowers, and young boys before marriage, fades out as the Tinglayan district is reached. Folkmar reports a common house for old men who cannot work in some barrios of Tinglayan, but with no ceremonial significance.¹⁵ Further north, in the Lubuagan district, however, boys at about the age of ten go to sleep with their male age-mates in other houses.¹⁶ In Ifugao there is a similar pattern; here boys go, at a much earlier age, to sleep with their companions in widower's houses or in specially constructed huts.

The specially constructed girl's sleeping hut is used in Bontoc primarily for "trial mating"; such was formerly the case in much of Lepanto, apparently, but specially built houses have practically disappeared in this region, being replaced by the use of widow's houses for courtship and sleeping activities. In Ifugao there is a similar pattern of use of widows' houses for sleeping and for courtship activities. In the Lubuagan district girls likewise sleep together and are courted by the boys, but marriages here are largely arranged and "trial mating" does not normally take place — the head of the house is honor bound to prevent anything improper.¹⁷

The Ibaloi, or Nabaloi, no longer have sleeping dormitories for either sex. Father Claerhoudt's ¹⁸ informants denied that they ever had these institutions. Moss notes that Nabaloi traditions indicate they had dormitories in the past but did not practice "trial marriage".¹⁹ However, in one of the Nabaloi tales he recorded there is some circumstantial evidence for the latter:

"Very long ago the young men in Kabayan who were unmarried slept in one house, and the young women who were unmarried slept in another house. At midnight the young men went to the place of the women."

"All the women except one had lovers, but no one liked her....."²⁰

14. Barton, The Kalingas, pp. 147 ff

15. Daniel Folkmar, "Social Institutions of the Tinglayan Igorot", Paper No. 7, Beyer Collection, Bontok, Vol. IV, 1906.

16. Barton, The Kalingas, p. 43.

17. Ibid.

18. Personal information.

19. Moss, op. cit., p. 214

20. C.R. Moss, Nabaloi Tales, University of California Publications in American Archaeology & Ethnology, Vol. 17, 1924, p. 279.

It is therefore probable that the Nabaloi institution was at one time comparable with that of the Ifugao. Here strong forces of religious acculturation have been at work and these institutions were the first to suffer attack.

A review of the linguistic terms used for the ato divisions and the associated institutions should be illuminating, and I have included such a comparison in Table I. In general there are a considerable variety of terms utilized in different areas; these do not fall into consistent patterns but crosscut the various areas in different ways. Such a distribution supports the suggestion that diverse elements have been combined and recombined in varying ways, rather than the assumption of diffusion from an organized center or "degeneration" of larger complexes. Linguistic reconstructions of proto-"Bontoc-Kankanay" and proto-"Northern Luzon" forms offers the possibility of dating the developments in the near future relative to one another, and of confirming or modifying the proposed working hypotheses.

This brief review of certain Mountain Province institutions suggests that while various elements may be old, and in certain cases brought to northern Luzon by ancestral migrants, their organization and integration into the complex village structures of the central Mountain Province is a relatively recent process. In studies of diffusion it is essential to discriminate between technology and material culture, on the one hand, and forms of social organization, on the other. Social structures have jobs to do and they build on what is available, often with considerable remodelling. Under the conditions that existed in early times, so far as we know them from archaeology and from comparative observation, it is difficult to assume that a complex and specialized social system could have been carried and maintained in the Mountain Province environment.

The parallels that exist on the Asiatic mainland, apart from the bachelor's house in eastern and southern Asia, are primarily concentrated in distant Assam among the Tibeto-Burman-speaking tribes of that mountain region. Here we find many of the same elements and traits, but arranged in different patterns and on a different social base. These parallels are very instructive but I do not believe they suggest direct historical relationships with the Mountain Province peoples. For one thing, the languages they speak belong to a different stock, Sino-Tibetan or Sinitic. I would suggest that we have a partially parallel selection of similar elements in both regions for similar ends. We can learn a great deal from the comparative study of such situations, even though we can't use them to demonstrate historical migrations or direct diffusion.

The tendency to explain differences in social institutions in the Oceanic region by multiple migrations is a tempting one, since the normal processes of diffusion and borrowing do not operate except in limited circumstances, and movement of peoples is the major way by which new complexes and ideas are distributed. But such migrational hypotheses tell us little about the nature of the social institutions which we find in northern Luzon; for this we need intensive comparative studies of particular regions.

Such intensive comparative studies are best carried out in a controlled historical framework. We need to know the relationships of Mountain

Province peoples to mainland and Oceanic groups, and to one another. At present there are several somewhat contradictory frameworks for the Mountain Province. Estel 21 has recently surveyed the confused state of our racial knowledge of the Indonesian area; the application of a genetic point of view and population analysis will ultimately clarify the immediate racial relationships even though "blood group" races may not be any easier to deal with than our present grouping. 22

Linguistic relationships, other than broad classifications, are likewise far from clear. We have made a beginning on this problem for the Mountain Province, utilizing the new techniques of glottochronology developed by Swadesh, Lees, and others. 23 The results demonstrate that the languages of Northern Luzon, with the possible exception of the Ilongot, belong together, and that the bulk of the linguistic differentiation has taken place during the Christian era. Furthermore, preliminary analysis suggests that most of this differentiation has taken place in situ so to speak, nor is there any major break between Ilocano and mountain dialects. Within the mountain region there is a relatively close relationship between Kankanaï (Lepanto) and Bontoc, and a less close relationship of these with Ifugao and Kalinga; nowhere in the Mountain Province are there very sharp linguistic breaks or gradients.

These tentative conclusions for language parallel those reached many years ago by Father Vanoverbergh in his survey of dress and adornment in the Mountain Province:

"The various so-called non-Christian tribes in the Mountain Province of Luzon, while differing one from another in numerous details, are actually essentially one. Whether they were originally one or have become so in the course of time is another question." 24

The last question we hope will be resolved in other sessions of this Congress. We haven't discussed the nature of the differences between dry-rice and wet-rice peoples of Northern Luzon, a problem which is fundamental to this larger question. Here the comparison of sedentary and semi-sedentary Kalinga, Tinguian and Isneg, and wet-rice and dry-rice Ifugao peoples will be crucial.

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21. Leo A. Estel, "Racial Origin in Northern Indonesia", Journal of East Asiatic Studies, Vol. II, No. 3, 1953, pp. 1-20.
 22. Barrows assigns the whole Mountain Province to the Malay race; Cole proposes at least two series or waves of migration into Northern Luzon of peoples with relatively similar physical types and languages but from different localities and with different institutions; Beyer believes there were several separate migrations of "proto-Malay", Indonesian A and B, and later Malayan peoples, each with a different physical type and culture, and coming at widely separate times.
 23. See Robert B. Fox, Willis Sibley, and Fred Eggan, "A Preliminary Glottochronology for Northern Luzon", MS., 1953.
 24. Morice Vanoverbergh, "Dress and Adornment in the Mountain Province of Luzon, Philippine Islands." Publication of the Catholic Anthropological Conference, Vol. I, No. 5, 1929, p. 240.

In this paper we hope we laid a framework for an alternative view of the nature and development of Mountain Province social institutions. We do this not because we are unappreciative of the contributions of our predecessors and colleagues — our structure is largely built on such contributions. But any science advances by weighing alternatives. We have new tools and techniques in human genetics, linguistics, and archaeology; we need to combine them with new conceptions of culture and society derived from social anthropology. With these tools we can develop a new view of Mountain Province social institutions and a better appreciation of their value and significance for scientific purposes.

A P P E N D I X

Table I

Native terms for social institutions in the Mountain Province

<u>Region or town</u>	<u>Ward</u>	<u>Platform</u>	<u>Men's house</u>
Bontoc (region)	ato	ato;tjapae	pabafungan
Bontoc (town)	ato	ato	1. pabafungan 2. fawi
Lepanto (region)	at-ato	dap-ay	at-ato
Bauko	1.at-ato 2. ubung	1.at-atóan 2. dap-ay	1.at-atóan 2.dap-ay
Sagada	obón	dap-ay	abong
Amburayan (region)	at-ato(?)	tribunal	abong (?)
Ifugao	-	(atol)	agámang ¹
S. Kalinga	-	-	obog
Nabaloi	-	(atol)	(?)
Karao	-	(atol)	

<u>Region or town</u>	<u>Men's council</u>	<u>Girl's dormitory</u>
Bontoc (region)	intugtukan	olag
Bontoc (town)	intugtukan	olag
Lepanto (region)	lalakay ²	ebgan ³
Bauko	lalakay	ebgan
Sagada	am?ama	ebgan
Amburayan (region)	lakay (?)	(?)
Ifugao	-	agámang ¹
S. Kalinga	(among da papangat)	obog
Nabaloi	tongtong	(?)
Karao	tongtong	

1. These are distinguished by supplementary male and female terms. In Sagada, and Lepanto generally, agámang = "rice granary".

2. Lepanto lalakay may be derived from lloko - lakay, "old man".

3. Lepanto ebgan is derived from ebég - "bedfellow", and is therefore probably cognate with S. Kalinga obog, and possibly with Bontoc olag.